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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the relative rewards and costs of parenthood and working as perceived by 63 professional and 60 nonprofessional women between the ages of 28 and 39 who were childless, had small families, or had large families. A social exchange theory was suggested as the general theoretical framework for the study. The overall pattern of results suggested that women with different numbers of children and occupational statuses showed different relative costs and benefits of parenthood and work. In particular, women with larger families had a higher general satisfaction with parenthood than those with small or no families. Those who were childless saw higher general costs associated with parenthood than those with small or large families, and professional women also saw greater costs of parenthood than did the nonprofessional women. General motivation for work was found to be higher among the professional women. Other significant differences were found between subgroups of women who differed in work status or family size in terms of their responses to both openended and structured questions regarding their motivation for parenthood and working. (Author)

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Relative Costs and Benefits of Work and Children to Professional and Non-Professional Women[1]

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One variable of importance in fertility related behaviors may be called "motivation for parenthood." Overall motivation for future parenthood and overall satisfaction with present parenthood both can be classified into many individual satisfactions and costs, such as liking for children, emotional benefits of children, economic costs of children, and restriction of freedom and opportunity costs of children.

Only recently have investigators begun to assess the benefits and costs of children at different stages in the family cycle, tried to develop alternative methodologies for assessing the rewards and costs of children, and attempted to measure the value of specific numbers of children (e.g., Hoffman, 1972; Terhune, 1972). The focus is on measurement of parents' feelings, perceptions and beliefs regarding the rewards and costs of having children and on relating these motivational and attitudinal factors to actual fertility or intended number of children. Major measurement techniques utilized include open-ended questions regarding why a person wants children (Hoffman, 1972; Fawcett, Albores and Arnold, 1972), card sorts of the importance of various fertility values (Terhune, 1972), and projective TAT-type tests (Hoffman and Hoffman, 1973).

Few non-economic studies of the value of children have considered the costs and benefits of parenthood as compared with the costs and benefits of various alternatives. It is obvious that a woman has only a certain amount of time and resources. She may devote all her time and energy to the rearing

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of children or she may devote a portion of her time to some other role. In American society the major alternative task or role to which women may devote themselves is paid employment. Many women become equally involved in volunteer activities, hobbies, and other creative endeavors, or they may spend their time in various leisure activities. However, these activities usually do not have the same type of legitimacy as does labor force participation; these activities usually do not provide a full-time alternative role. Labor force participation also has the added advantage that it allows one to buy additional household consumer goods which may themselves provide alternative benefits to parenthood.

The negative relationship between married women's employment and fertility is well documented (e.g., Siegel and Haas, 1963). Married employed women have and expect to have fewer children than do non-working women. This inverse relationship between employment and fertility is even more pronounced for career or professional women (Perrucci, 1970). One variable that has potential for explaining the negative relationship between employment and fertility is differential motivation for parenthood (as compared with motivation for work).

The general theoretical framework espoused here is that of social exchange theory. It is assumed that for women the perceived rewards and costs of parenthood and the perceived rewards and costs of major alternative sources of satisfaction such as work affect actual decisions whether or not to have children (if one has no children) or whether or not to have an additional child (once one has had one or more children). The mediating variable in this relationship is effectiveness of use of various forms of contraception.

Employment and motherhood may be thought of as two alternative systems (i.e., social situations), each with its various rewards and costs.

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Women will choose to interact within one or both of these social situations depending on the reward-cost outcomes (i.e., $\sum$ Rewards $-$ $\sum$ Costs) of each situation and their combined outcomes. A woman will choose to have a child or an additional child (and not to work) when the net reward minus cost outcome (i.e., $\sum$ Rewards $-$ $\sum$ Costs) of the motherhood role is considerably greater than the net reward-cost outcome of the work role. The woman will choose to have a career when the reward-cost outcome of work is considerably greater than the reward-cost outcome of parenthood. When the reward-cost outcomes of both roles approach equality (i.e., $\sum \text{Rewards}_{\text{Parenthood}} - \sum \text{Costs}_{\text{Parenthood}} = \sum \text{Rewards}_{\text{Work}} - \sum \text{Costs}_{\text{Work}}$) the amount of participation within each role is dependent on the reward-cost ratios within each role. When rewards of both roles are high and costs low, the combined roles (career, plus additional children) will be adopted. When rewards and costs of both roles are low, the woman will probably choose only limited motherhood (i.e., a small family), as this is still the more socially acceptable of the two roles. When some less clear-cut mixture of rewards and costs appears within both roles, it is more difficult to specify how much the woman will participate in each role. In these cases, the decisions adopted are much more often a matter of chance or situational constraints rather than a result of volitional choice of the woman.

Clarification of the explanation given above occurs when we distinguish between the general rewards and costs of parenthood (from which a general measure of satisfaction with parenthood that may be loosely called "motivation for parenthood" can be derived), and the rewards and costs of having an additional child (from which a true index of motivation for parenthood can be derived). It is to be expected that the general rewards of parenthood should increase and the general costs of parenthood should decrease with

number of children. Assuming women with large families choose to have many children, they should see children as very satisfying and valuable. On the other hand, it is likely that the rewards and costs associated with having additional children may decrease as a function of number of children, since women with large families are less likely to desire or intend additional children than are women of the same age who have few or no children.

As a first step in testing our theoretical model and attempting to explain the negative employment-fertility relationship, it was decided to examine fertility and motivation for parenthood and work among an extreme group of women, those that were dedicated to a profession. Another group of women who were employed but were not professional were included as a comparison group.

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Methodology

In order to examine differences in psychological variables correlated with differences in professional status and fertility rates, a weighed cross-section sampling plan (with deliberate oversampling of some subgroups) was used. Subjects were stratified into six subgroups on the basis of two variables, work status (professional and non-professional) and family size (childless, small families and large families). Approximately equal numbers of subjects in the late childbearing years were selected for each of the subgroups. Women were defined operationally as having a small family if they had one child. They were defined as having a large family if they had three or more children. Both childless and small family women were sampled because women in these groups have adopted basically dissimilar life styles.

Our criteria for inclusion in the sample demanded that in addition to having a specified number of children, a woman be between 25 and 39, currently married and living with her spouse, and currently employed full-time.

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Number of children was defined as total number of living natural or adopted children; this included children from a woman's previous marriage if they were living with her.

The sample actually chosen consisted of 63 professional and 60 non-professional women living in the greater Los Angeles area. Professional women were randomly selected from membership listings of professional associations, from biographical directories of professions and from listings of employees in hospitals and universities. The five major occupational groups included in the professional sample were:

1) Scientists. Equal numbers of a) social and behavioral scientists, and b) physical and natural scientists were selected from listings of professional associations.

2) Physicians were selected from the Physician's Reference Listing, 1972, V. 9, California.

3) Lawyers were selected from the Martindale-Hubble Law Directory, 1973.

4) University faculty members were selected from a computer listing of women employed at a large university.

5) Nurses and librarians. These women were combined into one category because both are traditionally feminine occupations. Nurses were selected from employee listings of several hospitals in the Los Angeles area. Librarians were selected from A Biographic Directory of Librarians in the United States and Canada.

Approximately equal numbers of women in each of these five occupational classifications were selected.

Non-professional women were randomly chosen from households representative of Los Angeles county that either had been previously selected for a Los Angeles Metropolitan Area Survey (LAMAS) or were currently being screened for another Los Angeles county survey conducted by the UCLA Survey Research

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Center (N = 47). Some additional non-professional women (N = 13) were selected from non-professional employee listings of a large university in the Los Angeles area.

Personal interviews, although more costly than mail questionnaires, were used as the major method of data collection. Certain paper-and-pencil tests were also given to subjects after the interview was completed. The most important of these scales, and the only one to be discussed here is the Motivations for Children and Work Questionnaire. This questionnaire asks subjects to rate how important each of 20 rewards and 20 costs of children would be in their decisions regarding whether or not to have additional children, and similarly, how important 10 rewards and 10 costs of work would be in their decisions regarding working in the future. The interview schedule covered the following areas of concern to the present paper:

1) General motivation for parenthood and work. Open-ended questions measured perceived rewards and costs of being a parent and perceived rewards and costs of being employed. For each factor mentioned, the subject was asked to rate the importance of this factor to her personally on a seven-point scale.
2) Detailed fertility histories and attitudes, including expected and ideal family size, and reasons for wanting specific numbers of children.

Results

As a prelude to data analysis, refusal rates and eligibility rates were computed for all potential respondents contacted. An initial trend that emerged from our selection procedures is that non-professionals were more likely to refuse to participate in the study than were professionals ($\chi^2 = 12.54$, $p < .05$). The non-professional higher refusal rate was offset by

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their lower eligibility rate, when compared with professionals.

Characteristics of the Subgroups Selected. The original age range selected for the sample was 25 to 39, but in order to match the six groups on age as much as was possible, 25 to 27-year-olds were not included in the sample. The problem was that it was impossible to find any professional women between 25 and 27 who had three or more children. Despite the matching on age, the lack of overlap in the professional (P) and non-professional (NP) populations was such that professional women were still almost an entire year older than non-professional women (Professionals, $\bar{X}$ =33.44, Non-Professional, X = 32.42, $F = 4.28$, $p < .05$). Women in both groups with large families were approximately two years older than the other women ($F = 22.32$, $p < .001$).

There were still other differences between the professional and non-professional groups for which it was not possible to control. In addition to obvious differences in socioeconomic status, own income, husband's income and education, which were inherent in the different work statuses of the respondents, there was a difference in religious affiliation. The professional women were more likely to be Jewish than the non-professional women ($\chi^2 = 9.99$, $p < .05$). Professional and non-professionals did not differ significantly in race, although more Blacks were included in the non-professional sample (3 Black Ps, 10 Black NPs).

Specific Rewards and Costs. Through extensive content analyses, lists of exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories of rewards and costs of parenthood and work were developed from answers to open-ended questions. The coding categories developed are delineated in Table 1 which shows the overall percentage of respondents mentioning each positive or negative factor and the mean importance rating of that factor for all respondents who mentioned it. The most frequently mentioned benefits of parenthood were categories (2) relationship with the child (getting and giving love),

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(1) watiching the growth and development of the child, and (4) the teaching role. The highest rated reward of parenthood was (2) relationship with the child. The most frequently mentioned cost of parenthood for all groups was (3) restriction of freedom and opportunity. The highest rated costs concerned (8) worry about children and (9) doubts about one's own adequacy as a parent.

The most frequently mentioned reward of work was (5) social interaction. Also frequently mentioned were (1) economic benefits, (4) feelings of achievement, and (3) self-definition. The highest rated benefits were (4) achievement and challenge, (3) self-definition and (12) like work. Time (category 2) was overwhelmingly mentioned as the most salient negative aspect of work. Guilt concerning being away from the children (8) and problems with daycare (13) were the highest rated costs of work, although both were mentioned by only a small percentage of women.

Chi Squares were used to determine significant differences in percent of respondents mentioning a particular factor. For determining differences among mean ratings of individual factors, 2 (Work Status) x 3 (Family Size) analyses of variance were computed. There were few differences between professionals and non-professional either in percent of respondents mentioning a category or in mean ratings of the benefits of parenthood. However, those women with large families were more likely to mention category 10, the companionship aspects of having children (38%) than were the other two groups (14%) ($\chi^2 = 10.23$, $p < .01$). Women with children (52%) in both groups were more likely to mention category 2, relationship, than were childless (28%) women ($\chi^2 = 6.69$, $p < .05$). Category 3, liking for children's activities, was rated higher ($F = 8.30$, $df = 2,9$, $p < .01$) by women with children than by childless women.

Professional women (35%) were more likely to mention category 6,

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interference with career as a cost of parenthood than were non-professional women (11%) ($\chi^2 = 7.98$, $p < .01$). They (27%) also more frequently mentioned category 10, the work involved in care of children, than did non-professionals (7%) ($\chi^2 = 7.58$, $p < .01$). With regard to rewards of work, professionals more frequently mentioned category 4, challenge ($\chi^2 = 13.90$, $p < .001$); category 6, mental stimulation ($\chi^2 = 11.79$, $p < .001$); category 7, social contribution ($\chi^2 = 12.85$, $p < .001$); and category 3, self-esteem ($\chi^2 = 5.20$, $p < .05$) than did non-professionals. Non-professionals mentioned category 3, housework as a cost of work more frequently than did professionals ($\chi^2 = 8.32$, $p < .01$). Those with children (51%) were more likely to mention category 4, that their employment was bad for or interfered with the needs of the children than were those who were childless (2%) ($\chi^2 = 28.96$, $p < .001$).

The individual structured rewards and costs were derived from the Motivations for Children and Work Questionnaire. Each statment was rated on a seven-point scale of importance. If a person disagreed with a statement or felt that it did not apply to her rather than that it was of no importance, the person would rate that statement D (coded as 0, while of no importance was coded as 1). These structured statements dealt with reasons for having one or more additional children or any children (if one had no children) while the open-ended statements dealt with general satisfactions and costs of children. In these structured statements, we are not looking at what might be rationalizations of past decisions, but rather, are looking at future decisions. While there is a great deal of overlap between open-ended and structured categories, they are not identical since they were derived in very different ways. However, similar categories (e.g., watching growth) can be compared for both sets of questions.

The overall means of the 20 positive parenthood 20 negative parenthood, 10 positive work and 10 negative work items from the structured Motivation

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for Children and Work Questionnaire are presented in Table 2. Items are titled to give some idea of their content areas. The positive parenthood items rated of highest importance were (19) enjoy children's activities, (18) being able to observe the growth and development of a child, (11) like children, and (3) enjoy watching my child achieve. Only one of these (watching growth) was very frequently mentioned on the open-ended questions. The costs of parenthood rated of highest importance were (17) loss of freedom and mobility, (6) forego opportunities because of children, (12) worry about the child's health and well-being, and (2) economic costs. All of these costs were rated over a point lower than the highest rated rewards of parenthood. Except for economic costs, they are the costs of parenthood that were also highly salient for the open-ended general costs of parenthood.

The positive work items that were rated highest were (8) like the stimulation and new experiences, (3) I get satisfaction and enjoyment from the job, (5) like the interaction with other people, and (6) working adds to my self-esteem. All these positive work items were rated extremely high, over one point higher than the highest positive parenthood items. The costs of work rated highest were (3) not enough time for other activities, (7) not enough time with children, and (1) I like time to relax during the day. Thus, the most important negative factors associated with employment have to do with the fact that being in the labor force is time consuming rather than with characteristics of work itself. These benefits and costs of work which have the highest ratings agree fairly closely with the open-ended benefits and costs of work that are most frequently mentioned and have the highest mean ratings.

The positive parenthood items that distinguished between professionals and non-professionals were items (3) child's achievement ($P > NP$, $p < .01$),

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and (7) like tasks (NP > P, $p < .01$). The negative parenthood items that distinguished were items (2) economic (NP > P, $p < .01$), and (7) boring (P > NP, $p < .001$). Positive parenthood items that distinguished between women who differed in present number of children were items (3) child's achievement (0 & 1 > 3, $p < .01$), (9) watching growth (0 & 1 > 3, $p < .01$), (13) family (0 > 1 > 3, $p < .001$), and (17) teaching role (0 & 1 > 3, $p < .001$). In all cases, those with no children or small families scored higher here on the specific rewards of parenthood than did those with large families. This is as predicted since the first two groups of women expect to have more additional children. Negative parenthood items that distinguished on the basis of present family size were items (7) childcare tasks boring (0 > 3 > 1, $p < .01$), (11) like children only for brief periods of time (0 > 3 & 1, $p < .01$), (14) husband jealous (0 > 1 > 3, $p < .01$), (15) have enough children (3 > 1 > 0, $p < .001$), and (16) too old (3 > 1 > 0, $p < .001$). Here those who are childless or who have large families appeared to see higher specific costs associated with additional parenthood than did those with small families.

The three positive work items that distinguished between professionals and non-professionals were items (1) need income (NP > P, $p < .001$), (3) enjoy job (P > NP, $p < .01$), and (7) social contribution (P > NP, $p < .01$). The only negative work items that distinguished between the two groups was (5) time for housework (NP > P, $p < .001$). With regard to number of children, those with children saw time away from children as a higher positive item of work than did those without children (3 & 1 > 0, $p < .001$). As on the open-ended question, professionals appeared to have more intrinsic rewards associated with work, but the only item that distinguished between professionals and

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non-professionals on both structured and open-ended questions was social contribution.

Overall Indices of Motivation for Parenthood and Work. One aim of the present study was to develop methods of summing the rewards and costs of parenthood and work. Since our model conceptualized motivation for parenthood as the sum of the salience ratings of individual perceived rewards and costs, the initial analysis utilized these sums. However, other measures (such as number of responses, mean response ratings, and number of highly rated responses) were also examined. In each case, the pattern of results were similar.

Table 3 shows the open-ended sums of the ratings of the various responses the sums of the rewards of parenthood ($\sum R_p$) and the rewards of work ($\sum R_w$), the costs of children ($\sum C_p$) and the costs of work ($\sum C_w$). The sum of rewards of parenthood ($\sum R_p$) index was derived by having each respondent rate the importance of each individual factor mentioned on open-ended questions, summing these ratings for each individual, and obtaining a mean sum of the ratings for all interviewees in a specific group. The other sums were obtained in a similar manner. In order to see if the groups significantly differed, 2 (Work Status) x 3 (Family Size) analyses of variance were computed. Individual comparisons were conducted using the Newman-Keuls (q_r) test.

The sum of the rewards of children increased with number of children ($F = 7.40$, $p < .001$). Employed women with large families rated the sum of rewards of children higher than did employed women with small families (or no children). Women with no children saw higher costs of children than did women with children ($F = 4.82$, $p < .01$). Professional women saw higher costs associated with parenthood than did non-professional women ($F = 8.85$, $p < .01$), and they also saw higher rewards associated with work ($F = 24.27$, $p < .001$).

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Examination of motivation for parenthood ($Mot_p = \Sigma R_p - \Sigma C_p$) shows that, as expected, women with more children had a higher motivation for parenthood, i.e., they see more satisfaction or values associated with children ($F = 21.46$, $p < .001$). Women with large families had higher motivation for parenthood than women with small families ($p < .05$), who, in turn, had higher Mot_p than childless women ($p < .05$).

As expected, women professionals had a higher motivation for work ($Mot_w = \Sigma R_w - \Sigma C_w$) than did non-professional women ($F = 7.26$, $p < .01$). Resultant Motivation ($Mot_p - Mot_w$) increased with number of present children ($F = 14.90$, $p < .001$). It was lower among professionals than non-professionals ($F = 6.27$, $p < .01$), and an interaction also occurred ($F = 3.24$, $p < .05$). This interaction is caused because professional and non-professional women with small families did not differ in Resultant Motivation.

One additionally interesting aspect of Table 3 is that the sum of the rewards of parenthood was smaller than the sum of rewards of work. Consequently, in most cases motivation for work was higher than motivation for parenthood, and resultant motivation had a negative value. What this consistent pattern of results indicates remains to be seen. According to the theory, persons with negative resultant motivation would not have (or want) many children. A universally high reward of work summary index may simply indicate that married women do not work (unless financially forced to) unless the rewards of work are perceived as high. Additional data to be collected from non-working women should provide more information on this problem.

Table 4 presents the sums of the structured rewards and costs of parenthood and work. Here, the rewards of work and costs of work were multiplied by two, so that they would be comparable to the rewards and costs of parenthood which had twice as many items, and analyses were computed as for the open-ended sums.

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It was expected that Mot_p for an additional child would decrease with number of children, since generally the more children one has, the fewer additional children one wants. Even though a woman may see parenthood as a very positive status, she would not desire additional children, if she is receiving all the benefits of parenthood from the children she already has. In general, the rewards of parenthood ($p < .05$), motivation for parenthood ($p < .01$), and resultant motivation ($p < .01$) did decrease as family size increased. However, Table 4 reveals a curious reversal of the expected pattern of results. Professional women with small families had higher motivation for parenthood and resultant motivation than professional women with no children ($p < .01$). The rewards of work, total motivation for work (and the costs of parenthood) no longer distinguished between professional and non-professional women as they did on the open-measures. While professional women saw more general rewards of work and had a higher general satisfaction with work than non-professional women, when factors entering into decisions regarding working in the future were considered, there was no differences associated with work status.

Discussion

The pattern of results obtained shows that women with different numbers of children and different occupational statuses show different relative costs and benefits of parenthood and work. With regard to open-ended individual benefits and costs of parenthood (in general), it appeared that women with larger families more highly valued than did other women their relationship (getting and giving love) with their children, and the companionship aspects of having children. Professional women were more likely to indicate concern about interference with a career and the work involved (which may be related to wanting time for career) as negative aspects of parenthood. In all

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cases the individual rewards and cost factors should be interpreted with caution, because the large number of significance tests computed may cause some cases of Type I error.

There was a fairly close overall correspondence between factors that were perceived as important on open-ended (in general) and structured (additional children) questions, although the significant differences between groups often were dissimilar. However, results for both structured and open-ended rewards of work suggests that non-professionals were more concerned about tangible extrinsic characteristics of the job (i.e., money) while professionals were more concerned about internal intrinsic factors, e.g., enjoyment of what they do, challenge and stimulation. An interesting pattern of results also emerged on structured rewards and costs of additional children. Women with large families rated positive aspects of having another child much lower than did other women. Women with small families and childless women were fairly similar in their ratings. However, women with no children frequently rated negative aspects of parenthood higher than did those with small or large families. Only on two very important items having to do with specific characteristics of their situations rather than more general satisfactions and costs associated with additional children, did large family women score higher. These were items dealing with the woman being too old, or already having enough children.

The data on open-ended and structured sums generally support our hypotheses. Those with large families had a higher general satisfaction with parenthood and general resultant motivation, but a lower motivation for having an additional child (and lower resultant motivation for additional children) than did those with small or no families. Those who were childless (or professional) saw higher general costs associated with parenthood than did other women. Professional women had higher general motivation for work

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(i.e., satisfaction with work) than did non-professionals. The strong reversal of results between childless professionals and professionals with one child on structured questions may be related to the fact that childless professionals expected fewer total children than did professionals with small families. Another possibility is the almost universal denigration of the one child family as not being good for the child. This tendency was very clear in answers to questions regarding "why" a certain desired number of children. Professional women with one child may be highly motivated to have another child, whereas professional women who are at least 28 and have not had a child may have some hesitation regarding having children.

The lack of significant differences on the measures of motivation for work among professional and non-professional women on the structured questionnaire may be due to the fact that we have not adequately sampled the universe of items relating to motivations for employment. However, it is more probably that since these women are all currently working, such factors are not influencing a decision regarding work, and it may be that another set of factors (such as pregnancy, etc.) influences the decision to stop working. The majority of both groups had already made a decision to continue to work indefinitely, although non-professionals were somewhat less likely to expect to be working in ten years than were professionals ($\chi^2 = 4.23$, $p < .05$).

While these data show that satisfaction with parenthood and motivation for additional children differ with family size, they do not show the relative effect of motivational variables as compared to demographic or other variables. General satisfaction for (motivation for) work is higher in professional than non-professional women who are equal in number of present children. While this finding is of interest in it own right, it does not indicate whether motivation for work should be included as a component of our theoretical

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model. Subtracting motivation for parenthood from motivation for work may not increase the predictive power of our model. Additional analyses involving a multivariate approach are necessary to determine such information. It also is necessary to extend this approach to a more general population. Longitudinal studies that determine changes in fertility and use of fertility regulation associated with changes in the importance of perceived rewards and costs of children also are desirable.

Given the present data, the high general motivation for parenthood (i.e., satisfaction with children) among women with large families could indicate rationalization that occurs after a woman has a large family rather than indicate general rewards and costs that may have motivated women to have large families. Motivation to have additional children might not be associated to any degree with desired children, future fertility, or use of fertility regulation. At this point, although motivation for parenthood (and work) does distinguish between groups, it is impossible to state if it is of any practical value and can serve as a significant predictor of differences in fertility.

In conclusion, this paper suggests the possible utility of using a social exchange model to examine the costs and benefits of parenthood and the costs and benefits of work. Only more sophisticated and extensive studies can determine the validity of this theoretical formulation.

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Table 1. Individual Open-Ended Rewards and Costs of Parenthood and Employment

I. Rewards of Parenthood	Overall Percent Mentioning	Overall Mean
1. Watching child's growth and development	48%	6.08
2. Relationship with the child: (getting and giving love)	44%	6.55
3. Enjoy children's activities: (being in touch with youth)	12%	5.60
4. Teaching role: (helping and guiding growth and development)	39%	5.99
5. Family: (having a "family")	24%	6.10
6. Self-development and growth: (makes me more mature, a better person)	21%	6.16
7. Fulfillment:(biological fulfillment; the woman's role)	32%	6.16
8. Marriage/Husband: (helps marital relationship; an expression of love)	13%	6.01
9. Comfort in old age: (companionship; financial security)	6%	6.00
10. Companionship: (is a companion; keeps me from being lonely)	21%	5.50
11. Immortality: (a part of me lives on; carrying on the family name)	16%	4.95
12. Nurturance: (taking care of dependent human being; giving something to someone else)	19%	6.09
13. Like children: (children are fun)	27%	5.82
14. Challenge, achievement, creativity	23%	5.43
15. Social expectation: (parents or friends or society expect it; affects relationship with parent positively)	3%	3.00
16. Keeps you young: (see things through a child's eyes)	7%	5.55
17. Social contribution: (creating a good person)	9%	6.18
18. Other (e.g., income tax deduction)	14%	5.76

Table 1. (cont'd.)

		Overall Percent Mentioning	Overall Mean
II.	Costs of Parenthood		
1.	Economic	20%	4.00
2.	Noise, hassle, frustration	16%	4.65
3.	Restriction of freedom, opportunity, privacy or mobility: (forego opportunities)	42%	4.67
4.	Great responsibility	23%	5.18
5.	Marriage/Husband: (interferes with relationship or time with husband)	12%	5.21
6.	Career: (interferes with career; problem of two full-time roles)	24%	5.17
7.	Other time factors: (less time for own interests and activities)	21%	4.50
8.	Worry: (regarding social problems or the child's health and development)	24%	5.75
9.	Adequacy: (doubts about own adequacy as a mother)	17%	5.81
10.	Work: (too much work)	17%	5.47
11.	Childcare problems: (problems finding adequate help; problems regarding disciplining of children)	11%	5.00
12.	Guilt or conflict: (concerning behavior toward children or too much time away from children)	11%	5.31
13.	Boredom, drudgery: (of childcare tasks; being stuck at home)	4%	4.00
14.	Population problems	1%	7.00
15.	Other (e.g. afraid children not live up to ideals, pregnancy unpleasant)	18%	4.77
III.	Reward of Work		
1.	Economic	47%	5.52
2.	Financial independence	19%	6.13
3.	Self-definition, esteem or independence: (employment gives one a sense of self-identity)	46%	6.30
4.	Achievement, challenge, creativity	46%	6.43

Table 1. (cont'd.)

		Overall Percent Mentioning	Overall Mean
III.	Rewards of Work		
5.	Social interaction: (meet and interact with people)	61%	5.95
6.	Mental stimulation: (use your mind; opportunity to learn)	41%	6.24
7.	Social contribution: (something of value to society)	35%	6.28
8.	Time structuring: (getting out of the house; getting into the world; getting up, dressed and out every morning; adding structure and pattern to one's life)	46%	5.98
9.	Helps relationship with child: (he is more independent, more sociable; I'm more patient with him; the quality of time we spend together is better)	10%	5.92
10.	Helps relationship with husband: (I have more to talk about with him; he appreciates me more; I am a more interesting person to him)	8%	5.70
11.	Self-development and growth: (I am more self-actualized; more independent; more self-assured and self-confident)	17%	6.28
12.	Like work: (enjoy this job; enjoy my occupation; like what I do)	24%	6.30
13.	Using skills, education	7%	5.89
14.	Other (e.g., insurance benefits)	12%	5.73
IV.	Costs of Work		
1.	Getting up in the morning; getting to work on time	11%	4 31
2.	Time: (time for other activities and interests; time for myself)	48%	4 81
3.	Not enough time for housework	24%	4.53
4.	Needs of children: (conflicts with needs of children; too much time away from children)	34%	5.00
5.	Psychological stress	20%	4.84
6.	Tiring; fatiguing	11%	4.15
7.	Routine: (lack of autonomy; having to be there every day)	26%	4.53

Table 1. (cont'd.)

IV. Costs of Work	Overall Percent Mentioning	Overall Mean
8. Guilt: (regarding being away from children)	5%	6.83
9. Marriage/Husband: (interferes with relationship with husband; not enough time with husband)	14%	5.71
10. Social interaction: (don't like the people I work with; don't like the people I come into contact with on my job; I have a personality conflict with someone I work with)	5%	5.17
11. Characteristics of this job: (dislike work I have to do; dislike this job; not enough benefits; dislike hours, etc.)	22%	4.85
12. Difficulty being a woman: (discrimination because I'm a woman; lack of advancement; lower pay, etc.)	5%	5.00
13. Day-care for children: (difficulty regarding care of children; finding competent help while I work)	3%	6.25
14. Other (e.g., I'm missing something by having someone else raise my child)	11%	5.00

Table 2. Overall Means of Individual Structured Items

I. Positive Parenthood	Overall Mean.
1. Friends have children	1.22
2. Biological identity	1.75
3. Child's achievement	4.45
4. Children give you immortality	1.53
5. I give love	4.15
6. Be like my mother	2.04
7. Like tasks of childcare	2.87
8. My characteristics in child	2.13
9. Observe growth and development	4.84
10. Others' expectations	1.25
11. Like children	4.78
12. Husband wants	2.20
13. Make us a "family"	1.07
14. Give me companionship and love	3.06
15. Most womanly thing is having a baby	1.76
16. Challenge of being a parent	3.85
17. Teaching role. Contribute to child's learning and development	4.76
18. Expression of love to spouse	2.79
19. Enjoy children's activities	4.86
20. Help relationship with husband	1.83
II. Negative Parenthood	
1. Child's inadequacies	1.42
2. Economic costs	3.20

Table 2. (cont'd.)

II.	Negative Parenthood	Overall Mean
3.	Children annoying	2.35
4.	Doubts about own adequacy	1.97
5.	Child could be deformed	1.98
6.	Forego opportunities with children	3.35
7.	Childrearing tasks boring	2.28
8.	Friends are childless	0.80
9.	Interferes with relationship with husband	2.10
10.	Conflict and pollution in world	2.59
11.	Like children only for brief periods	1.87
12.	Worry about child's health and well-being	3 26
13.	Population explosion	2.51
14.	Husband jealous	0.96
15.	Have enough children	2.73
16.	Too old to have child	2.75
17.	Loss of freedom and mobility	3.87
18.	Husband doesn't want	2.76
19.	Responsibility of being a parent	2.38
20.	Noise and mess	2.09
III.	Positive Work	
1.	Money-need income	4.09
2.	Time away from children	2.13
3.	Enjoyment from job	6.22
4.	Extra items or services	4.52
5.	Other people	5.92

Table 2. (cont'd.)

III. Positive Work	Overall Mean
6. Self-esteem	5.85
7. Social contribution	5.40
8. Like stimulation and new experiences	6.23
9. Keeps me busy	4.79
10. Feel independent	5.65
IV. Negative Work	
1. Not enough free time to relax during the day	3.11
2. Dislike some job tasks	2.49
3. Not enough time for other activities	3.76
4. Dislike people	2.02
5. Not enough time for housework	2.76
6. Interferes with relationship with husband	1.84
7. Not enough time with children	3.63
8. Tiring to be both housewife and employee	3.02
9. Job psychologically stressful	1.51
10. Dislike lack of autonomy	1.09

Table 3. Open-Ended Sums: Rewards, Costs and Total Motivation for Parenthood and Work and Resultant Motivation by Professional Level and Family Size

	$\sum R_p$	$\sum C_p$	Mot_p	$\sum R_w$	$\sum C_w$	Mot_w	Res. Mot.
Professional							
Childless	19.41	18.68	0.73	31.45	9.82	21.64	-20.91
Small Family	24.81	12.62	12.19	28.42	14.00	14.43	- 2.24
Large Family	27.03	13.05	14.00	27.75	14.25	13.50	0.50
Non-Professional							
Childless	18.65	12.60	6.05	22.25	10.00	12.25	- 6.20
Small Family	18.65	11.15	7.50	22.70	12.30	10.40	- 2.90
Large Family	28.15	9.25	16.90	20.70	9.15	11.55	5.35

$\sum R_p$: Family Size, $F = 7.40$, $df = 2,117$, $p < .001$

$\sum C_p$: Work Status, $F = 8.85$, $df = 1,117$, $p < .01$

Family Size, $F = 4.82$, $df = 2,117$, $p < .01$

Mot_p: Family Size, $F = 12.46$, $df = 2,117$, $p < .001$

$\sum R_w$: Work Status, $F = 24.27$, $df = 1,117$, $p < .001$

Mot_w: Work Status, $F = 7.26$, $df = 1,117$, $p < .01$

Result. Mot.: Work Status, $F = 6.27$, $df = 1,117$, $p < .01$

Family Size, $F = 14.90$, $df = 2,117$, $p < .001$

Work Status x Family Size, $F = 3.24$, $df = 2,117$, $p < .05$

Table 4. Sum of Structured Statements: Rewards, Costs, Total Motivation for Parenthood and Work and Resultant Motivation by Work Status and Family Size

Professional	ΣR_p	ΣC_p	Mot_p	ΣR_w	ΣC_w	Mot_w	Res. Mot.
Childless	61.28	52.19	9.09	104.48	47.52	56.95	-47.86
Small Family	63.19	41.28	21.90	101.24	55.90	45.33	-23.43
Large Family	42.05	48.80	-6.75	98.30	46.20	52.10	-58.85
Non-Professional							
Childless	66.05	46.35	19.70	99.30	54.00	45.30	-25.60
Small Family	57.87	42.40	15.45	98.70	52.30	46.40	-30.10
Large Family	55.95	52.25	3.70	106.40	46.60	59.80	-56.10

ΣR_p: Family Size, $F = 3.74$, $df = 2,116$, $p < .05$

Mot_p: Family Size, $F = 4.77$, $p < .01$

Res. Mot.: Family Size, $F = 4.95$, $p < .01$

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